

LETTERS

ADMONITORY

AND

ARGUMENTATIVE, &c.



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TO THE

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ADMONITORY

AND

ARGUMENTATIVE,

FROM

J. H---y, Merchant,

TO

J. S---r, Merchant,

In REPLY to Particular Passages,
and the General Argument, of a
Pamphlet, entitled, *Further Consi-
derations on the Bill, &c.*

L O N D O N:

Sold by DODSLEY in *Pall-Mall*, MILLAR, NOURSE,
and VAILLANT in the *Strand*, and WAUGH in *Lom-
bard-street*. 1753.



LETTERS

ADMONITORY

ARGUMENTATIVE, &c.

LETTER I

SIR,

Will begin my letter with
the well known line in which
you end your pamphlet.
"True self-love and social is the same."

From hence I deduce, that there is a
justice which a man owes to himself,
that he ought not to decline, what-
ever his particular temper or inclina-

tion

A 2



LETTERS

ADMONITORY

. A N D

ARGUMENTATIVE, &c.

LETTER I.

S I R,



Will begin my letter with
the well known line in which
you end your pamphlet.

“ True self-love and social is the same.”

From hence I deduce, that there is a
justice which a man owes to himself,
that he ought not to decline, what-
ever his particular temper or inclina-

tion may dictate, especially if a great part of a community is concerned. Accidents will arise, or opportunities may offer, which must necessarily engage the distinguished attention of individuals.

It is now three days since a friend of mine sent me your pamphlet, entitled, "*Further considerations on the act, &c.*" The former *Considerations* I had already remarked upon, in the third edition of my *review*. During my confinement, occasioned by the ill state of my health, I had compleated that *work* with such *corrections* and *additions* as constitute a *volume*. I thought my *labor* would have *ended* there; and as I might well plead *indisposition* for not troubling myself farther upon the subject, I was lulled into a persuasion that I should meet with no *provocation*. But as you have

have *raised* my *indignation* by the glosses and misrepresentations you have advanced; and *roused* my *resentment* by a certain *unworthy* paragraph in your book; I *will* make use of my pen *once more*, though I should *die* with it in my hand.

As I think your pamphlet is of an improper kind, it is in some measure my duty to comment upon it; not so much on account of the subject in debate, as by pointing out the impropriety of your conduct, prevent animosities, and screen *your brethren* from resentments, which ought not to fall *on them*. Do not imagine that I take you to be the author of these *Further Considerations*; I apprehend that you are too deeply engaged in other affairs: yet it plainly appears to me, that *some passages* of it are the genuine produce of your *thoughts*. I

address myself to *you*, because *you* are
 espouse and hand about this pamphlet,
 and adopt the doctrine and sentiments
 contained in it.

I cannot discover that you have *an-*
swered my *arguments*, but only *abu-*
sed me, therefore it might be deemed
 unnecessary to say *any thing in the ar-*
gumentative way. But since you en-
 gage me in a personal defence, I am,
 in some measure, constrained to *act*
a part which is not agreeable to me.
 You perceive that I am *angry*: I
 cannot say I am *much* so; but I ap-
 peal to the world if I have not *some*
 reason.

Every body who has read my *re-*
view, may remember that the last pa-
 ragraph of it runs thus: "To con-
 clude, if any more is to be said or
 done, except r——g the a——, I
 hope

"hope it will be *said* or *done* with the
 "same moderation and charity, as
 "this pamphlet is written; remem-
 "bering, that as the *whole* is of great-
 "er importance than a *part*: all con-
 "siderations which *clash* with this
 "principle, ought to be *absorbed*, as
 "dishonorable to liberty, and incon-
 "sistent with the dignity of an Eng-
 "lish subject."

Now, Sir, give me leave to ask
 you, if by r——g the a—— you did
 not understand, *repealing the act*? In-
 deed, no *boy* of ten years old, who
 should have read the pamphlet through,
 could possibly understand it other-
 wise. The context proves this so
 plainly, that it is very hard to say,
 whether your *affected ignorance* is not
 a greater insult upon the *understand-*
ing of your reader, than your *real*
want of common sense would reflect
 upon

upon your own reputation. You knew very well that this pamphlet was, for the most part, acknowledged to be *candid*, and *dispassionate*. Was it politic to attempt, to destroy the reputation of it as *such*? Was it not sufficient that you had a *right* to reason against the principles contained in it? You say *, “As for his insinuations of the *Jews* being turned out, and other matters of policy, I shall ever think parliament the proper judges of them, and entirely agree with him, that *difference of opinion is no reason for animosity between citizens*. I therefore hope, that if things remain in the state they are, no animosity will be bred; but cannot comprehend what r—— the a——, at the end of this elaborate performance means; if it means **RINGING the ALARM** against the L——, if they

* See Further Considerations, p. 75.

" they will not submit to his dictates:
 " where is all the boasted moderation
 " and charity of this author ? and yet
 " I fear it will be difficult for him to
 " get off this construction ; an insinu-
 " ation, than which none more viru-
 " lent, or indecent can be produced,
 " not even in the *London Evening*
 " *Post.*"

As to my " insinuations of the
 " *Jews* being turned out," I may well
 plead *ignorance* of what you mean,
 since I never meant any such thing.
 On the contrary, I labor through my
 book to recommend the *Jews* as mer-
 chants, and argue against the *natura-*
lization upon this, as well as other
 principles. But it seems, that even
 the initial letters of repealing the act,
 gave you such a blow as *stunn'd* you ;
 and you *lost your senses* through the
 remainder of the paragraph. No,

B

Sir,

Sir: if any thing would induce me to *violate* the laws of my country, or treat lawgivers with disrespect, it would be to *chastise* such offenders against order and decency, as you appear to be. But did you *really* imagine you had hit upon a *conceit*, which at the same time it gave me a *mortal wound*, would *revive* your cause? I wonder, for your own sake, that you would risk your reputation by a remark so *puerile*! Had you been pleased to construe the r—— the a—— to be *roving the Alps*; as I was *abroad* when your *book* was written, you might have found *something pretty* to say on the *folly* of travelling. I am certain the *context* would have borne this *conceit*, with the same propriety as it does RINGING the ALARM. But RINGING the ALARM *against* the L——: Do you know what the word legislature means?

If

If you do, learn to mention it with *veneration*, at the same time as you teach yourself to shew more *justice*, *manners*, and *ingenuoufness*, towards *private men*. I tell you, Sir, a boy at school ought to be *whipped* for such *nonsense*: submit—dictates—moderation—charity—construction—infinuation—virulent. Put them all into a bag, and shake them out, and they will, by a *fortuitous concourse*, range themselves into a meaning, *more consistent*, and *better applied*, than your *quaint scurrility*. Are not such paragrags offences against all the *rules of decency*; all the *precepts of concord*; all the *true maxims of social intercourse*? How could you imagine that your cause would receive any good by *such* means? No, Sir: there is too much *wisdom* and *good sense* in this nation, though *you* should not be able to discover, in what that *wisdom*

and *good sense* consist. Will such a liberty as this pass for a *sally of wit*, or a *sally of extreme levity*, and the very *quintessence of folly*? Examine diligently, if in the course of this long debate, any thing *so personal, so poignant, so ill applied*, has been said by any *Christian or Jew* besides yourself. Be assured, this rule of conduct will rather *divert the current* of every *sensible* man's opinion, however he might incline to your *naturalization*, than strengthen your interest.

I do wish the *act* may be *repealed*, why else did I write about it? but I never have, nor ever will RING an ALARM against such a legislature as the present. If after the matter has been so much canvassed, the *act* should remain *unrepealed*; nay more, if the *Jews* should be *naturalized*,
2
and

and if I should *die* in the same opinion as I am now, yet I will not *ring alarms*. The *motives* I had to *labor* the point, may be deduced from what I have said upon the subject; but it would be no more surprising that you should not *understand those motives*, than that a *blind man* should not form *just ideas* of colours.

If you think to invalidate my arguments as contained in my *Review*, by shooting your arrows against *me*: Alas how vain the attempt! Were ten thousand such as I am to fall, if the *naturalization* is not *proper*, good *policy* and *national honor* will be still the same.

But, Sir, I am amazed that you had not *ingenuousness* to discover that altho' my *opinion* has been constant, and is repugnant to the *naturalization*,

tion, yet I am not inclined to *virulence*. My design was not only to support my opinion, but to mollify things, and prevent the passions of *warm* men from flameing out beyond the bounds of reason and duty.

But *you*, as if you could see only *one object*, and that but imperfectly, regardless of *inflameing* the minds of the people, are for pushing the point, be the event what it may. Upon my word, I look on myself in general, as a greater friend to the *Jews* than you are. I am very much inclined to think, that some of them will even *acknowledge* this. Nay I will be bold to say, that if the first letter * I wrote *by way of heads of enquiry*, could have obtained more *credit*, in opposition to your *assiduous* *mis-*

* A letter from a gentleman to his friend, dated the 2th of May, 1753.

misrepresentations, it might have been a means of saving *this nation*, as well as the *Jews*, from great *anxiety*, *vexation*, and *other inconveniencies*. I know that my opinion is of *no weight* with you: but I must out of *pure charity* recommend to you to consult with men of more wisdom and understanding, how to *behave* in this affair. 'Tis probable they will advise you rather to hide yourself, 'till you see what course it will take, than to be so *extremely forward*. Your business is of a very *delicate nature*; at least it appears to me that your very success in it, might be less happy than your disappointment. Besides you may imagine yourself to be in the *secret* of the *state*, and to understand perfectly the sentiments of the *rulers* of it, and yet in the *issue* find yourself utterly mistaken. You know the *general current*

(516)

rent of the opinion of the *most important city* in the world; *that city* with which you are most intimately connected. The little applause you can expect from a *few*, can never be a *counterpoise* to that *derision* to which your *forwardness* may expose you. I shall be glad to hear you have *mended your manners*, and upon those terms I shall subscribe with great *sincerity*,

S I R,

Your most

obedient servant.

LET-

of the opinion of the most
 L E T T E R II
 with which you are most intimately
 S I R, The little about you

I THINK we are *now* *nearer* up-
 on equal terms; and if you please
 we will consider things coolly. I
 find in myself a great *propensity* to
 forgive. Though you touch me in
 a very *tender part*, yet as I had ra-
 ther others should think *injuriously* of
 me for being too passive, than think
ill of myself for the contrary, I pre-
 fer the being deficient, with regard
 to private vindictive justice, rather
 than by setting too high a value on
 myself, injure another man.

In the mean while, since I under-
 take thus to write to you, to defend
 myself as far as truth and experience
 will hold me out; it is my duty to
 inform you of the *absurdities* into
 C which

which you have fallen, which I cannot do in very polite terms. What I have asserted, that *only christians* ought to be naturalized is most clearly my *opinion*. Doth it follow because I write *my opinion* that therefore I *dictate*? Whose opinion am I to write except my own? There are many controversies in which the truth cannot be made familiar to ordinary apprehensions, without the assistance of the pen. But should the *writing combatants* fortify themselves by *invincible prejudices*, yet the judicious neutral reader, will upon the comparison, discover where they are pregnable, and in what the fallacy of the contest consists. But in all such cases the *integrity* of the *heart*, seems to be equally essential with the *strength* of the *understanding*. In proportion as we are tender, or regardless of our reputation, we shall necessarily

cessarily obtain the more or less credit, with regard to *pure matter of fact*. As to the rest every man's judgment is *free*.

Now Sir, whether you are *naturalized*, or not, it is my sincere wish and desire that whatever is **RIGHT** may be done. But give me leave to tell you, you do not go the true way to obtain that **RIGHT**; for upon the same principle that you *discard* your own *candor*, and *torture* the words of other men, to make them *signify* what was never intended, you may be suspected of misrepresenting *facts* and your *own thoughts*. But it is not *candor* only; you really seem to want *discernment* to enter into the *design* of a book, and the *meaning* of an author.

As I propose to make some short *reflexions* on the several *remarks* which you have made on my *Review*; I must observe in the *first place*, that neither you, nor I, will have the task of determining whether a *Jew* born here is a natural-born subject; nor if he is not, how far the *laws* can be consistently altered in your favor. If you will trust neither the practice of ages, neither the customs nor manners of the people, nor *any actual safety* you enjoy under the laws as good subjects, which you are acknowledged to be, even *naturalization* might in time become *terrible*. Do not be afraid Sir! As to your "being put upon a worse footing than what *Turks* would be in this country," I think your remark * is foreign and invidious. *Turks* do not reside amongst us: if they did, and

* Further Considerations, page 68.

and were *naturalized*, then you might complain. I have already ventured my thoughts, such as they are, into the world ; I have therefore only to add, that it doth not appear to me, that it is according to the *permission* of *providence*, that *Jews* should be *naturalized* ; but on the contrary, that they should remain here as *good subjects*, as they were before, and as *such* be *treated*. For my own part, I hope you will not be *naturalized*, because I understand by *naturalization*, that you are made thereby *members* of the constitution. If you are not *members* of the *constitution*, then the *dissenters* are no *members* of it. Now I always understood that the *dissenters* were *members* of it, not only as being natural-born subjects, and the genuine children of one *common parent*, but as they do not differ with us, with regard to the *fundamental prin-*

principles of christianity, on which, I apprehend, the constitution is founded. You do differ with us in those principles, consequently the naturalization appears to me to constitute as unnatural a mixture in the body politic, as bread and arsenic in the human body; and therefore such a mixture could produce no happiness, but, on the contrary, dishonor and reproach.

Under these circumstances, it seems to me absurd to declaim upon the *rights* of private subjects, when you can produce no instance of *wrong* being done *to you*, or to any person of your faith. *Humanity* also, which you so much recommend, it is not concerned in the debate, until you can produce an instance of being treated *inhumanly*, without the offender being punished according to the laws. The letters which I have quoted in
my

my travels, and which you mention *, recommends *kind treatment* and the *preservation* of COMMON RIGHTS *as towards men*; and particularly by the cultivation of a free commerce: but for goodness sake, how came you to apply this to the concern of *national policy* with regard to *strangers* being accepted as *members of a constitution*? I am perswaded the *royal authors* of these letters, never *dreamt* of any such thing; I am sure I never *dreamt* of it, when I introduced them; and you who refer to them, can only *dream*.

But you will not grant, that the *Jews* in *England* are indulged, on any other supposition than their having RIGHTS: that the laws of *England* know nothing of *indulgences*, and consequently that the *Jews* have every

* See Further Considerations, pages 68, 69.

every right of a subject, or *none*.
 This seems to me to be very loose
 reasoning, that they must have *every*
right or none. As *subjects* do they not
 enjoy protection, a free exercise of
 religion, and the *common rights* by
 which our persons and properties are
 rendered secure. Yet not having *eve-*
ry right of a natural-born subject,
 which *dissenters* enjoy, therefore you
 have *none*! I see but one circum-
 stance which makes any essential dif-
 ference. If, for instance, your hold-
 ing lands should be resolved to be on-
 ly by the favor and indulgence of
 the crown, this restraint may be very
just and very *political*. You may
 not be thought *proper land-holders*,
 and yet we entirely disposed to
 favor you in other respects. I do
 not imagine that any of our princes
 would attempt to disregard the *cus-*
tom and *practice* of their ancestors,
 which

which have already existed a whole century, without very strong reasons. And what think you of arbitrary unlimited monarchies, where to serve a turn they should grant you *any thing*; and the first hour the *state* was distressed, or some offence taken; with the same facility, deprive you of *every* thing again, not privileges only, but your real substance?

As neither you nor I, have *authority* nor *abilities*, to determine upon this subject, we may as well decline any farther discussion of the point. I have only to observe, that you puzzle the cause when you talk of "the absurdity of a *born denizen*." I said, that there is a very material difference, between a *denizen* and a *natural-born subject*; and that, according to my information, a *Jew denizen*; and I suppose a *christian denizen* also, could not *legally* inherit

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land by descent. This point, e're long, will probably be discussed at large.

Your next paragraph challenges me for not expressing my *horror* and *detestation*, of the cruelties which in past times have been exercised towards the *Jews*. Here you make me *criminal* for not being *virtuous*: But *read again, Sir*, with more *candor*, and you will find, that as far as the mention of an *historical fact*, to illustrate my subject, would allow of any *comment*, I have expressed my *disdain* of the *barbarity of manners of those times*.

Your next accusation appears to me to be very *illogical*; you say, "His
"descanting on our constitution, is
"merely ornamental, and not rela-
"tive to the point in question." This
remains to be proved by better autho-
rity

rity than your *negative*. But the reason you assign is admirable! "Unless
 " *he supposes he understands it*" (the constitution) " *better than the whole*
 " *legislature.*" Why, Sir, if I was
 so *extremely vain*, as to make such a
 supposition, would my *supposing*,
 " *render my opinion relative to the*
 " *point in question?*" If your remark
 is not *absurd*, I am sure it is *invidious*! What is it you have said more
 or less than this? that I have no title
 to *think* upon the subject, much less
 to declare *my* thoughts, seeing that
 some of my superiors have already de-
 clared theirs. Would you have our
freedom of mind abolished, as well
 as the *liberty* of the press, lest men
 should think and write with *freedom*
 on the subject of your *naturalization*?
 And pray, Sir, how do you or I know
 what other men *think*? We do not
 know what *they say*. You introduce

the whole legislature in very familiar terms, as if you understood, not the constitution only, but the sentiments of every individual who composes the legislature. If I have advanced any thing new, novelty does not render it less an object of reason; and every reader will judge for himself, just as you do concerning the mission of a *Messiah*, or any other article of faith. You would not believe the whole clergy of England, were they to declare to you, that *Jesus Christ is the true Messiah*.

You was certainly under the influence of some *unlucky star*, when you attempted to depreciate my *Review*; otherwise what could you mean by saying, "although this author may have travelled in *Persia*, we hope he would not bring examples from thence for a christian government."

This

This is exquisite wantonness! I have said, that the *Mabommedans*, as well as the *Christians*, do consider the religion of their country, interwoven with their *temporal policy*, but surely this is not recommending *examples* to a *christian* government. By your remark you mean *bad examples*, or you mean nothing. But though you torture my words, you cannot alter the nature of things with regard to the principles of government, nor the practice of nations in such cases.

Your next article relates to the *Jews in Turkey*, whom you put on as good a footing as the *christians*, except the *Franks*. I think it is no ways material to enter into a deep examination of this point. By *Franks* I presume you mean *strangers* who are *christians*, and under some particular protection. To these you grant a preference :

ference: let it *rest* here, and leave the remainder to be debated at leisure.

As to the *refined* reasons which you have sought for, why the *Russians* banished the *Jews*; I must *take leave* to observe, that it appears to me in a *direct view*, to be no more, nor less, than this. That the *Russians*, who are naturally jealous, did not like the active spirits of *Jews*. They also entertain a notion, that *Jews* are apt to give clandestine intelligences. And lastly, that *christianity* absolutely forbids the entertainment of them, and *therefore* they were *banished*.

Little, I apprehend, need be said concerning the treatment of the *Jews* in the *Austrian* dominions, since we have seen them *banished* in *one* place, whilst *particular men*, you say, were *caressed* in *another*. I will not dispute it.

But

But give me leave, in my turn, to ask, if you mean by *Jews* being made *barons*, and enjoying employments under princes, that therefore *upon the comparison*, you are not *indulged* here? If you mean this, and I apprehend the construction is *natural*, it is very idle, not to say ungrateful. I remember the time when I was an *apprentice*, and afterwards a *factor* in *Lisbon*, that your name, as a *great trader*, carried with it more weight and importance than those of fifty *German barons*: Happy did we think those *factors* who had such a *principal*! and yet your father was but plain Mr. S—r, merchant. Your friends will tell you what kind of figure you now make in the character of *general solicitor*, in this struggle concerning your *naturalization*! If, like *Icarus*, you attempt to fly too near the sun, depend on it your *wax* will melt, and
like

like him you will fall. Reflect a little! is it NO HONOR to live in this island, *rich, easy, free and happy*? If our constitution does not admit of giving you either *titles or employments*, you enjoy what is much better, in the esteem of all sensible men, *ease, security, plenty, pleasure*, under the most consistent, and I will add, the most indulgent government in the world.

As to what concerns the state of the *Jews* in *Genoa* and *Tuscany*, I have said very little upon the subject, and it is by no means necessary to make any comment upon it, after it is once granted, that the *Jews* are no where more secure and happy than in this island. And give me leave to observe, that although I am not acquainted with the history of every private *Jew* in the United Provinces,

yet what I have said of them in general, is from the demonstration of my senses, and from the assurance I received from some of the principal christian merchants in Amsterdam. Surely you would not argue from the quotation of Dutch lawyers, that there is, in reality, no particular quarter in which the Jews reside in that city. As to your own enjoyment from your ancestors, of a land estate in that country, I never made the least doubt of it. What I have said, for the most part, is from the demonstration of my senses : nor is it only in Holland, but also in Portugal, Russia, and Persia ; in Poland also, so far as I have seen and been well informed at Dantzic : to these I may add Hamburgh, and lastly France. I do not know what you may understand by naturalization in France, but the French do certainly affix some meaning to

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that

that word very different from yours, otherwise how can you say the *Jews* are *naturalized* in that country, and the *French* themselves say the *Jews* are *not naturalized*. Several of the most intelligent people in commercial affairs in *Paris*, with an air of disdain, mixed with surprize at the question, have very lately assured me, that the *Jews* are *not naturalized in France*. So far from being on a *par* with the natural-born subjects, abstracted from offices of trust, they are in many places treated with certain marks of *disdain*, by no means practised with us. I have already explained this matter, as far as is necessary in the general view I treat the subject, and therefore shall not add any thing more.

But you surprize me extremely by saying, that all *protestants* and *Moors* in

in *Spain* and *Portugal* are equally subject to the *inquisition*, unless they are under some *protection*: and yet you agree with me, or so I understand it, concerning my account of the state of the *Jews* in *Spain* and *Portugal*. Your remark astonishes me the more, since I never heard, during the many years I lived in *Portugal*, that a *Moor* was permitted to reside there. Indeed I have often seen *Moors* loaded with chains, as prisoners of war; and as these wretched people are seldom ransomed, it is very rare to see one of them in any other circumstances. I cannot therefore conceive what you mean. It would indeed argue great *barbarity of manners*, if the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* were to apprehend and confine a man in the *inquisition* merely for being a *protestant*. They are too wise and too politic to

declare war against the *protestant world*
at large.

As to my *mean reflexions*, as you
are pleased to call them, with regard
to the *stolen goods* which are bought
by the *Jews*: my design was to give
a general idea of the employment of
the *Jews*, of which this kind of com-
merce constitutes a part. And do you
know, Sir, that this circumstance has
occasioned many *serious animadver-*
sions? I do not in the least doubt
but there are many *christians* who
are also guilty, and it might be well
for us all, if both *christians* and *Jews*
who carry on such an *iniquitous traf-*
fic, were punished in a manner suit-
able to the nature of this offence.

With regard to the state and con-
dition of those who *figure* at the *top*
of *your nation*, as well as the second

class of your people, the *more riches* you possess, the *more pleasure* I shall receive: but I wish you had been *ingenuous* in regard to such things as I am *acquainted* with, that you might have obtained *more credit* in respect to those of which I have not had such *opportunities of information*. You make the *Jewish* property to be five millions, *viz.*

In land and moveables 500,000

In money, and money
securities. { 1,500,000

Employed in commerce. 3,000,000

You suppose that this nation circulates *sixty* millions in commerce, and *three* being a twentieth part of sixty, you conclude that a twentieth part of the whole profits of the nation is procured by means of the *Jews*. Or if the sum is but *forty* millions so circula-
ted

ted, then you have more than a *thirteenth part of the whole profits*. If this were *true* it would be a *considerable object* indeed! and yet, for my own part, it would not alter my opinion in the least with regard to your *naturalization*. But I am afraid Sir, since you *require evidence* from me, it will be very difficult for you to *give me evidence* of what you assert. You acknowledge, for so I understand, that there are not above ten considerable merchants among you, who may have *plumb capitals*. I have set your whole number of *rich men* at *twenty*, and I suppose these twenty would be puzzled extremely to muster *two millions* of their own property. And where are your hundred merchants *or more*, who can raise *five thousand pounds* upon credit? Have you a hundred merchants *or more* who are really worth *five*
 thou-

thousand pounds each. If you have, then we shall make out five hundred thousand pounds, which just compleats two millions and a half. As for the other half of five millions, we will suppose that it exists somewhere, and take *your word* for the rest.

Is it possible, in the detail you give us of the nature of the trade which the *Jews* carry on, you could think of imposing on the *merchants in the city*? Or is it the *courtiers* only, whom you meant to *amuse*? Surely you could never entertain any notion of placing a guard at *Temple-Bar*, to cut off the *communication* of the merchants with *St. James's*. No: Sir, as there is too much knowledge in the mercantile world, to suffer *all* your assertions to be received as *oraculous*; so it may be presumed, that
there

there will *always* be such a good *understanding* between the court and city, as will prevent the former from being imposed on in cases of this nature. I am sure, if we are wise, such a *happy* intercourse will be maintained, as will result in the *firm* establishment of *both*, in defiance of all misrepresentations, however specious they may appear for a time.

Let us now examine to what *prodigious heights* you are exalted in your own esteem. I dare say you have reasoned yourself into a belief of what you have related ; we must therefore be tender of condemning you as if you had premeditated evil. Nor will I venture to determine, if you are accountable for the errors of your *understanding* : perhaps the fault may be in your constitution : some men's heads are apt to become *giddy*, when
they

they look from an *eminence*. You say, "that the value of the *Spanish West-india trade* will be better understood when we reflect, *that the getting a licence for one ship yearly, was reckoned an equivalent for many faults in the treaty of Utrecht*; and was, on all hands, acknowledged a great national benefit. Now, great as it is, there is *one Jew* in this city," (by whom you mean yourself) "who constantly has a licence for a larger ship than the *South-sea company* ever had, and giving many people shares under him, employs her constantly in this trade." Is there any person the least conversant with commercial affairs, who does not know, that the *Spanish West-india trade* is carried on by register or licensed ships, which any house of business of reputation established in *Spain*, may obtain from the Court, by paying

F a sum

a sum of money, according to the tonnage of the ship? No kind of merchandize can be sent into that quarter of the world upon any other bottom, nor upon any other terms. I do not in the least doubt, but your correspondent in *Spain* may have often obtained for you such a licence, for a ship to be loaded on your account. The number of such ships often reach to twenty sail, for *La Vera Crux*, *Cartagena*, *Buenos Ayres*, or the South-Seas, who take in the goods of the merchants of all nations upon freight.

Now pray, my good Sir, what mighty national advantage is this, that you set it in competition with an *annual English ship of great burthen; loaded entirely with English commodities; navigated entirely by British seamen; and enjoying an exclusive trade to that part of the Spanish America*
2
from

from whence a vast profit might naturally be expected to accrue? As to the licensed ship, on account of which you thus sing your IO TRIUMPHE, and by which, no doubt, you mean to lay your adversaries prostrate, I cannot discover that you gain the smallest advantage over them. With regard to the *simple engagement of the ship*, it is really no national concern; for she must go under *Spanish* colours; be navigated by *Spanish* seamen; and your profit can only be what her freight amounts to, more than the expence of procuring the licence, and the charge of navigating her. The gain of these adventures is frequently inconsiderable; and sometimes they are attended with loss. Had you not better have omitted this circumstance, and descanted only upon the actual amount of your exports of our manufactures, and your imports of raw

materials, and other useful trades which I know you carry on?

We must not be surprized however at such kind of glosses. In opposition to the *plea* of the *Portugal* merchants, your friends would insist that the *Portuguese* could not possibly take offence at our *naturalizing Jews*, since one of the convents was in actual correspondency with a *Jew*. A general conclusion from a particular instance, is oftentimes as fallacious, as general arguments applied to particular cases. But the fact alluded to, if *my information is true*, is no more, nor less than this, that the convent of *Alco-baca* did once employ an *English* factor in *Lisbon* to provide cloathing for their fraternity. Now I make no doubt but the property of a *Jew* might be employed for this purpose, which was a matter of no concern

to

to the convent, more than the life and conversation of every individual manufacturer of the goods in question.

But if you have been disingenuous in *some* things, you have not been so gentle and humane in *others*, as one would expect from a gentleman who challenges another for want of tenderness, as you do me; I think unjustly. What *in the name of charity* do you mean by torturing my words, with regard to Mr. *Benjamin Mendez De Costa* * ? I love and honor that gentleman for his extensive charity and beneficence to the poor. What could I possibly *mean* with regard to him but what I *said* ? I wish I could *say* and *mean* so much of *all* who are equally qualified with him. From whence then could you make so

* See Further Considerations, page 75.

so strange a deduction, as that the same moral action which is a *virtue* in a *christian*, is not also a *virtue* in a *Jew*. Did I introduce this incident to *evade* debating a point? No, Sir; I introduced it to *demonstrate* from the *strongest* evidence, that as a *certain Jew* was so much distinguished for his virtue, we ought to believe that *Jews may be*, and *often are* very good men: and therefore that we should by no means indulge any *general prejudices*, nor adopt any *general rule*, without *numerous exceptions*.

There is another paragraph of yours which is too extraordinary to be passed over unobserved. You say
 “With regard to our commercial
 “connexions, there has not appeared
 “the least detriment from this act, to
 “colour *his*” (i. e. *my*) “*suggestions*;
 “it

“ it is now some months since it became a *law*, and there is not the least tendency thereto.” Strange indeed! What effect can the law produce with regard to the *Jews*, when the act was made at the close of the sessions, and no one *Jew* has been *naturalized* in consequence of it. I wish with all my heart it had not produced *any effect at all*; but if we may judge from the discourse and writings which have appeared, in so many different shapes, the *effects* are very disagreeable, to say no worse.

I think, Sir, I have run through your *crude* and *indigested* accusations; and must leave others to judge, how far I am accountable to the *Jews in general*, for any injury I have done them; or how far *you, in particular* are accountable to me, for the faults
you

you have committed against the rules of decency and good manners. I am,

S I R,

Yours, &c.

LETTER III.

S I R,

I COME now to consider things in a more general view ; and as the force of your argument turns very much on the supposed great property of the *Jews*, and consequently of their importance to the nation ; I must remind you, that the *more* you are worth, the *greater* sign it is of your good fortune, and the *greater* reason you have to offer your gratitude to *heaven*, and to make a
just

just acknowledgment of the *indulgence* of this government. For the rest, if it is *right*, with regard to *religion* and the *constitution*, that you should be *naturalized*, the same policy which might induce the legislature to comply with your request, being worth *five millions*, as you say you are, I apprehend would hold good, were you worth but *two*; or indeed, if you bid fair to augment our commerce, if you were *not* worth *one*. But if on the contrary, it is not *right*, upon account of *religion* and the *constitution*, that you should be *naturalized*, it cannot be made *right*, though you possessed *fifty millions*.

For my own part, I do not conceive that we are in the least danger, for want of *money*. How far our circumstances are rendered perilous for want of *virtue*, is a subject which requires

a volume. But what amazes me is, that *you* who are triumphing upon the pinnacle of *liberty*; so perfectly *safe* and *secure*, as your present conduct demonstrates; whose fortune, I am told, is *extremely affluent*, and for the most part acquired in this country; that *you* who do not so much as pretend to labor under any *difficulty* or *inconvenience*, except such as your imagination has conjured up, as if it was the *malady of redundancy*; I say, Sir, I am amazed, that *you* should espouse a doctrine so extravagant, as that of being induced to leave this country, unless you are *naturalized*. It is true you had, not many months since, the *little modesty* to say, if the bill was not passed in your favor, you would leave the kingdom. When you was challenged upon it, you explained away what you had said; thereby acknowledging your *imprudence*.

dence. For this reason I have hitherto thought it *unfair* to mention this circumstance. But you now *publicly* avow the same doctrine in *print*, with regard to the *Jews in general*. Can you exist better without us, than we without you? Is not the interest reciprocal, in the best light we can set it on your behalf? If I had the welfare of my country at heart, even beyond the preservation of my life: if I thought the *Jews* of the highest consequence imaginable to this nation: yet, if you was to threaten me, that unless my wife and daughter prostituted themselves, you would leave the kingdom, what should I determine? Do you imagine that *English jealousy* of *national* honor, has no similitude with *private* honor and reputation? *As to Individuals they will have particular ways of thinking:* but as the case stands at present, what-

even the voice of the majority shall be, it becomes you to be on the *re-*
serve.

You say, "should there such a
"disability be put upon the *Jews*,"
(meaning their not being naturalized)
"they must be satisfied that far from
"the *protection*, they have the *odium*
"of the nation." What, Sir; *far*
from protection, when nobody dares
invade your property, nor injure your
person? And why *odium* of the na-
tion? this is a very *odious* word,
which you certainly do not under-
stand, or you would not have been
so *impolitic* as to have used it.

Your laboring to intimidate is
an insult upon our understandings.
If you were really *naturalized in*
France, as you pretend; and if such
naturalization put you on a footing
supe-

superior to what you are here, you give us *reason* to believe, that notwithstanding your obligations to this country, you would go there. Do you mean by alarming our passions, to obtain that point, in which *our* understandings do not acquiesce. I say *our*, from a perswasion that this business is now better understood than it was some months since, and that there is not such a diversity of sentiment as you seem to imagine. But if *I am mistaken*, it does not in the least alter the nature of your indiscretion.

From the general argument of the great advantage of trade, and consequently of *few traders*, you make this deduction: that it must be expected, if they are not *naturalized*, they will leave this kingdom. I have a much

a much better opinion of the *understanding* of the *Jew* merchants, and imagine, that for the *very reason* you *assign*, they will have the *wisdom* to *stay* in it. By your own account, they were never *richer* than they are at present. We all know that *riches* create *riches*; and that the pursuit of a merchant, *next to the fear of God, and the love of his country*, is *wealth*. Perhaps you, in particular, are grown so *immensely* rich, that you intend to leave off trade, and *travel*. Upon my word, I think you may make the *tour of Europe, or Asia*, and find no country so *exquisitely* delightful as this. Surely you would not turn *wanderer* in an *ill humor*, because you are not indulged in that, which it is plain you can do admirably well without, since by your own confession, you are become of such *vast* consequence!

The best way, I apprehend, to support and encrease your *real* importance, is to *hold your tongue, and mind your business*. But if you are struck with a *nervous tremor*, and conceive that we are going to erect an *inquisition*; or by some *incomprehensible fatality*, to depart from our *natural genius*, and all our *wholesome maxims of government*; let me advise you to put yourself into the hands of some *able physician*.

But peradventure you are inclined to perform *some act of chivalry*, in order to transmit your memory to future generations. I do not in the least doubt, but you may find some remoter region, more proper for the *scene of a romance*, than the *inconstant climate* of this island. If *this* should be the case; or if you mean, *in good earnest*, to make some experiment of
other

other countries, how they pass their time ; as I am by no means inclined to consider you as *my enemy*, because you overshot your mark, in the warmth of your argument, give me leave to wish you a *happy journey*. I would have the pleasure to offer you some *letters of recommendation* to the best of my acquaintance *abroad* ; but I do assure you, upon my honor, that I know of no country, nor society ; no circumstance, nor situation in life, equal to those which this island affords. It is true, I am a *down-right Englishman*, and have my *national prejudices* ; but after all the *trials and observations* I have made, what this *poor world* can afford ; though I endeavor to *think freely*, without being a *slave to opinion*, this is the result. You will of course determine upon what you think best. For my own part, I have
nothing

(657)

nothing to add, but my sincere good
wishes for the prosperity of the *Jews*
in general, and of *yours in particu-*
lar, and to assure you that I am, in
the bonds of *humanity* and *christian*
charity,

S I R,

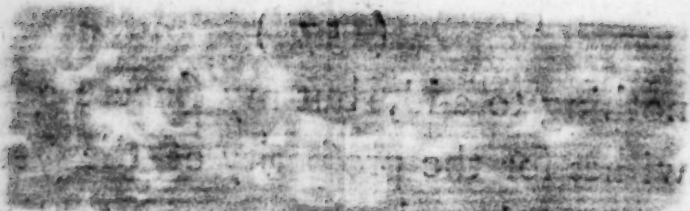
Your most

obedient Servant,

London, Nov.

12, 1753.

J. H—y.



INDEX

W. E. L. F.

J. E. L. F.

Relating to the Registrar entitled
The Registrar, etc. containing the
New Right of holding Land in

SINCE the passing of
the Act of 1832, the
Registrar has been
the person to whom
all applications for
the registration of
land have been made
and the Registrar has
been the person to whom
all applications for
the registration of
land have been made



A P P E N D I X

T O

R E V I E W

A N D

L E T T E R S

Relating to the Pamphlet entitled
The Question, &c. concerning the
Jews Right of holding Land Es-
tates.



INCE the finishing my
Review and *Letters**, I have
read a pamphlet published
by a gentleman of *Lincoln's-Inn*, who
writes *like a gentleman*, and as far as
I understand, with learning, and
H know.

* November 13, 1753.

knowledge of our laws. This piece is entitled, "*The question, whether a Jew born within the British dominions, was, before the making of the late act of parliament, a person, capable, by law, to purchase and hold lands to him and his heirs, fairly stated and considered.*" This piece seems to be written with a zealous desire of informing the public, of a series of facts relating to the subject. Perhaps my *prepossessions* obstruct those gleams of light which might otherwise brighten my understanding; yet I confess that these facts do, in a great measure *prove*, that it has been the *opinion* of many eminent lawyers, that no law in being, does prohibit the inheritance and possession by a *Jew*, of a land estate. But I apprehend, at the same time, it is equally *clear*, that *as there have been times, in which*

the

the *Jews* were seperated from the *obristians*, as a distinct people, under peculiar restrictions, so it is evident that in the *course of things*, occasions have frequently offered, to consult how far *those distinctions* might yet exist. And as in *antient times* there have been *instances* of estates of *Jews* being seized by the crown, how far such estates might be subject to such seizure, in point of *rigor of law*.

The maxim that *the extremity of right is the extremity of wrong*, ought to give a bias to mens opinions in regard to *law*, whenever such law appears to deviate from *equity*. Now in a country where *arbitrary power* is *abolished*, few men would lean to the opinion of the *king's right* to the land possessions of a *Jew*. Yet on the other hand, till a *native Jew* subject, should be proved to be, to

all intents and purposes, on the same footing as a natural-born christian subject, it might occasionally be required to give positive proof what title such Jew had to possess lands on the same terms as a christian. The possession of land, in common with the subjects in general, I apprehend, is held by all nations, as a kind of *criterion* of the equality of a stranger with a native. It is plain that it hath been equally difficult to fix upon what law it is, they hold the right of possession, should the sovereign, for reasons of policy, demand the forfeiture of such lands; or should a legislature, for the same reasons of policy, think proper to fix certain restrictions, either with regard to the number, value, situation or other circumstances of such estates: for however the cause may be puzzled, if we go upon the authority of antiquity, the act of Edward

Edward I. in 1290. which banished the *Jews* and deprived them of their *estates*, must be presumed to be an *act* of parliament; or done in virtue of *common law*. Or if neither by *royal prerogative*, and no *act* except an *act* of parliament, could supersede such *prerogative*; and where is such *act* of parliament?

The fact is clear that in these *latter times* we have been *entirely averse* to every attempt of wresting from the *Jews*, any thing of which upon the *faith of precedents*, or their *good opinion of our morals*, they have become just possessors. Yet it does not appear to me from the series of events *related in the Question*, nor from any *circumstance of the argument*, that the *Jews* have a *right to naturalization*: or, that they *ever* were on the footing of natural-born subjects:

jects: or, to use the term I adopt, that they *ever were, or ever were thought to be*, proper members of the *constitution*, upon the terms of the present *test act*.

On the contrary, it doth appear, that notwithstanding some eminent persons have expressed themselves on the subject, with a certain narrowness of sentiment, yet there has ever been, upon *other principles*, a repugnance in the minds of many *christians*, and in the *opinions* of men distinguished for great *knowledge*, as well as *probity*, to that kind of *incorporation* with *Jews*, as *naturalization* doth imply. Nor is this wonderful when we observe, that *all the nations of the earth*, are in the same way of thinking; and this strikes me the more, with respect to that *providence*, which confessedly governeth the *whole earth*.

The

The author of the *Question*, says well that I am no *lawyer*. I wish upon this occasion that I had more knowledge of *law*; yet I venture to follow the *train* of my thoughts, and leave others to make what use they please of them. This business seems to be of a very *complex* nature, and if we mistake *one point*, we may happen to hit right upon *another*. This author observes, “that if *Jews*, “*quatenus Jews*, had been by the “common law incapable of purcha- “sing real estates, the naturalizing “them by parliament will not ne- “cessarily remove that incapacity.” We may observe however, that the *Jews* supposed capacity of purcha- sing real estates, hath been generally urged as a consequence of their be- ing *natural-born* subjects; whilst their being *born* within the realm, has been advanced

advanced with equal *warmth*, to constitute them *natural-born* subjects.

This author informs us further, that many *Jew* families came and settled in *England* upon the restoration of king *Charles II.* by whom they were made free *denizens* by the king's letters patents, granted in the common and usual form, and with no other *non obstante* clause than what was inserted in patents of *denization* usually granted. Here occurs a *difficulty* which I should be very glad of assistance to get over. It is granted, that a *denizen* cannot inherit land by descent. It is also allowed, that king *Charles II.* *indenized* a great number of *Jew* families. This author judges from a series of events, and variety of opinions, that the *Jews* were legal holders of land, (before the *late acts*) *provided* they were born in his majesty's

ty's dominions. The *sons of indemnized Jews, according to him*, if born within the *realm*, are also natural-born subjects, and free, according to the ordinary form of *denization*, "to
 " purchase, receive, take, have, hold,
 " buy, and possess, use, and to enjoy
 " to them and their heirs for ever, or
 " in any other manner, lands, tene-
 " ments, reversions, services, and o-
 " ther hereditaments whatsoever, with-
 " in the kingdom of *England*, and
 " other his majesty's dominions. And
 " the same to give, sell, alien, and
 " bequeath, to any person or persons,
 " as they shall think proper at their
 " pleasure, without restraint, and as
 " freely, quietly, and peaceably, as
 " any other of his majesty's subjects
 " born in *England* might do."* Must
 we not conclude from hence, that
 these *Jews* derived their supposed

I

right

* Question, pag. 38.

right, from *denization*, and *not* from *common law*? But they are, according to this author, *not incapable by common law*, therefore they are presumed to be *capable*. Is this any thing more than *presumption*? For it is alledged, that “under the encouragement and sanction of these ACTS of STATE, several Jews who had been before made *denizens*, so early as the year 1677, purchased lands, houses, fee-farm rents, and other estates*.” Under these circumstances, with what propriety can *common law* be pleaded in the case before us? If a *Jew* acted under the sanction of an *act of state*, we may presume, that *common law* was out of the question; and indeed is not this implied by the very act of *denization*? and is not this act rendered a *negative proof* that they were *not capable by common law*? If *denization*

tion gives no title to inherit by descent, and if no right was derived from common law, an act of parliament became necessary: now where are we to look for such act of parliament? This is the difficulty which occurred to me upon reading the *Question*: a difficulty which, perhaps, proclaims my ignorance, and would fall to the ground was I conversant with law.

However this matter may be determined; or if it should be left undetermined; I am sorry to see the remark of the ingenious author of the question, "that, if this bill should be repealed, upon a principle that a Jew's religion renders him incapable of purchasing lands, and of being entitled to the civil rights of natural born subjects, it may be inductive of a new doctrine, inconsistent with the freedom and spirit of

“ true revolution principles ; and
 “ which, by parity of reason, may,
 “ in future times, be applied to *Dif-*
 “ *senters*, and *Roman Catholics*, to
 “ *Deists*, and any other sect of per-
 “ sons that shall hereafter happen to
 “ be branded with the name of in-
 “ *fidel.*”

I really think the *pious care* of this
 gentleman, with respect to the *consti-*
tution, might with *much greater pro-*
priety be employed in keeping things
 as they stood, with regard to the *non-*
admission, as *naturalized subjects*, of
 those who profess a religion different
 from that of *Christ*. If the *Jews*
will purchase land estates, it ought to be
 presumed they know by what *tenure*
 they hold them. In the mean while, the
civil rights which the *Jews* enjoy a-
 mongst us, do secure to them the *protec-*
tion of their *religion*, the *safety* of their
persons,

persons, the security of their property; and as they are by their own confession grown immensely rich, and nothing is desired or intended contrary to their protection, safety, and security, why should we conjure up dangers where there are none? or why should we take pains to flatter the Jews into a belief of things which are not; or which are not fixed and determinate? It appears to me from the conduct of several of them, that they were not, and are not ignorant of the state of this matter, but, in respect to their land estates, confide in the clemency and beneficence which adorn the throne of British monarchs.

Further, as we are not only *christians*, but *christians* divided from the errors which reign in those churches which bind a great part of the *christian* world in the chains of superstition,

sition, and hold them in slavery to ecclesiastical tyranny; therefore it ought to be considered as a securer bulwark of revolution principles, to preserve that system, which excludes all those from an incorporation (so far as naturalization incorporates) who profess the greatest error of all, viz. that they do not believe in Jesus Christ, rather than to receive them without regard to this distinction.

It is morally impossible to fix the determinate idea of pure christianity, in such a manner as to form a criterion to judge by in other men; and it is plain that such an attempt would be as impolitic as extravagant: yet, so long as we hold it as a fundamental principle, that no man shall enjoy any office of trust, without receiving the sacrament; or in other words, without acknowledging himself a

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chris-

christian : so long as we preserve the purity of our religion, with that exactness, that the most upright man among the Dissenters cannot enjoy the lowest civil office in the state ; let us not, under a notion of freedom of sentiment, or of correcting dubious law, wound in the smallest part, that glorious plan which the revolution hath so happily framed, and which we may hope, will be preserved pure and inviolate to all succeeding generations.

F I N I S.

ERRATUM in the Letter to J. S—r.

Page 12. line 17. *for* never have *read* never have rung.

MUSEVM
BRITANNICVM

